



Archipel

Études interdisciplinaires sur le monde insulindien

98 | 2019

Varia

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Electronic version

URL: <https://journals.openedition.org/archipel/1337>

DOI: 10.4000/archipel.1337

ISSN: 2104-3655

Publisher

Association Archipel

Printed version

Date of publication: December 3, 2019

Number of pages: 109-119

ISBN: 978-2-910513-82-5

ISSN: 0044-8613

Electronic reference

M. C. Ricklefs, "The strange journey of Latawalujwa in Java, from two pre-Islamic goddesses to an elastic term for God", *Archipel* [Online], 98 | 2019, Online since 11 December 2019, connection on 07 November 2024. URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/archipel/1337> ; DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/archipel.1337>

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The strange journey of Latawalujwa in Java, from two pre-Islamic goddesses to an elastic term for God

L'étrange périple de Latawalujwa à Java, de deux déesses pre-Islamiques à un terme élastique pour Dieu

M. C. Ricklefs

- 1 In the early history of Islam three pre-Islamic deities were regarded as particular threats to the new faith. These were the female goddesses al-Lat, al-'Uzza and Manat. They are described in the *Qur'an* sura 53 al-Najm verses 19-23 as follows (Abdel Haleem's translation):

[Disbelievers], consider al-Lat and al-'Uzza, and the third one Manat. — Are you to have the male and He the female? That would be a most unjust distribution! — these are nothing but names you have invented yourselves, you and your forefathers. God has sent no authority for them. These people merely follow guesswork and the whims of their souls, even though guidance has come to them from their Lord.²
- 2 In his current research on the *Caritanira Amir* found in Bodleian MS Jav.b.2(R), Ben Arps has discovered what is probably the earliest surviving reference to al-Lat and al-'Uzza in a Javanese manuscript. This has proved to be a key discovery in this tale of Latawalujwa's origins and subsequent usages. Noorduynd established that the MS was given to the Bodleian in 1629,³ so it is clearly older than that. The MS is on palm-leaf (*lontar*) and written with Javanese script (*anacaraka*). Noorduynd found no clear evidence concerning its provenance, but its palaeography is similar to that found in examples of Javanese script written in Banten in 1619.⁴ Thus — in the midst of our very limited knowledge of Javanese palaeography of that era — we may reasonably say that the Bodleian MS is probably of north coast (*pasisir*) origin and perhaps from Banten.
- 3 In this *Caritanira Amir*, in a letter written in the name of the infidel emperor Nusirwan, we find reference to the two goddesses al-Lat and al-'Uzza, written with the Arabic word *wa* ("and") as *Lata wa-l-'Uzza*, who are then described as the greater idol and the lesser idol.⁵

- 4 There are two important points about this early *Caritanira Amir* reference. (1) The use of special characters for Arabic letters confirms that the writer knew that she or he was dealing with Arabic, rather than Javanese, names. The orthography of this text employs the conventional Javanese characters *ngu* and *ja* with a diacritical symbol superimposed so as to be read as Arabic ‘*ain* and *z* (*zayn*). These are unmistakably two infidel Arabic idols in the story, as they are in the *Qur’an*. (2) The writer chose to preserve the Arabic conjunction *wa* (“and”) rather than choosing a Javanese conjunction (*karo*, *kaliyan*, *sakarone*, *sakaliyan*). Had the writer of *Caritanira Amir* written *Lata karo ‘Uzza*, it would have been obvious to a reader who did not know Arabic that these were two separate names. It is this convention that made it possible for later Javanese literati to take *Lata wa-l-‘Uzza* as a single name, with *wal* just part of the name.
- 5 Taking these two points into consideration, let us imagine a reader who did not know in advance that he or she should read *Lata wa-l-‘Uzza* as two Arabic names connected by the Arabic conjunction *wa* and, moreover, did not understand the significance of the diacritical marks superimposed on *ngu* and *ja*. Our hypothetical reader could then read these names as one: *Latawalnguja*. We may see here the start of our rather mysterious tale, the birth-origins of a singular Javanese deity named Latawalujwa, whose Quranic origin as the names of two pre-Islamic goddesses got lost over time to the Javanese literati who deployed this now-singular name.
- 6 But what if this hypothetical reader were to read instead the *Qur’an* itself in Javanese script? We may assume that a reader who read the text in Arabic script — the most usual way for a Javanese translation of the *Qur’an* to be written — would understand the function of the Arabic conjunction *wa*. But what of the reader whose access to the *Qur’an* was only through Javanese script? We have such an example done in Surakarta in 1905, which provides important evidence of how the two pre-Islamic goddesses were presented to a reader of that recension.⁶
- 7 We will quote the passage in this 1905 *Qur’an* in *anacaraka* which is parallel to that quoted above from Abdel Haleem’s translation. This will both show how al-Lat and al-‘Uzza fared and suggest the degree of difficulty the Javanese translator had with the Arabic text:
- All tell how was your opinion regarding the idol named Latawalnguza? And the other three? Do they have power like the power of Allah? (no) Is it true that all of those male children are His sons, while the female child is [also] a child of Allah? Such a distribution would be most wrong, unjust. All of those who’ve been mentioned are just names; those who named them are you and your ancestors. Allah has not commanded worship of those idols and there is no true sign that those idols are objects of worship. Worshipping those idols is just to follow your imagination and the heart’s desire of those won over by the devil’s temptation. For the people of Mecca have already been admonished by Allah their Lord.⁷
- 8 In this text, the parenthetical “(no)” is an intervention by the translator, editor or scribe, evidently worried that a Javanese reader was at risk of giving the wrong answer to the rhetorical question whether the idols “have power like the power of Allah”. In this Javanese-script *Qur’an* we see al-Lat and al-‘Uzza mentioned with the Arabic conjunction *wa* preserved, as was the case with the much older *Caritanira Amir*. So the name could be read as a singular: Latawalnguza. In this case there is no diacritical mark to indicate the ‘*ain* at the start of al-‘Uzza, but the *z* is indicated with the standard Javanese character *ja* with the common diacritical mark superimposed of three dots

arranged as a triangle. So a reader who did not recognise the meaning of that diacritical mark could read the name as Latawalnguja.

- 9 Readers will already have noticed in this Javanese-script *Qur'an* several departures from the understanding of the passage as given by Abdel Haleem. We may note particularly the disappearance of Manat, so that no reader would be led to suspect that there were three named goddesses in the *Qur'an*. Indeed, this version understood the *Qur'an* to tell of “Latawalnguza and the other three,” those three being unnamed. So no Javanese reader whose sole access to the *Qur'an* was via this translation, or another like it, would have reason to doubt that Latawalnguza/Latawalnguja was a single idol. Such a reader should, however, have concluded that worship of this deity was prohibited idolatry.
- 10 Ben Arps advises that there are further references to al-Lat and al-‘Uzza in texts of the Menak tradition, romances dealing with the Prophet’s uncle Amir Hamzah. We will not pursue all these references. Instead we turn now to the time from the 18th century onward when we find Latawalujwa in other Javanese sources.
- 11 Ronit Ricci has shown how the *Book of one thousand questions*, known in multiple languages at least since the tenth century, was transformed in Javanese hands in the later nineteenth. Rather than a story about a Jew who converts to Islam in conversation with the Prophet, the later Javanese version became a story about a Muslim Javanese guru who sets out essential doctrines of Javanese-inflected Islam in conversation with his sons. There is neither Jew nor Prophet in that later Javanese branch of the story.⁸ That may seem a curious enough transition, but Latawalujwa’s adventures have even more surprising outcomes. We will find some remarkable usages below.
- 12 We will examine these later occurrences known to me in approximate chronological order. That is not to suggest that these occurrences were sequential, each one being influenced by the preceding and leading to the next. It merely shows us that there were some Javanese authors who evidently knew — or thought they knew — what Latawalujwa meant even though the references, taken together, in fact suggest confusion. There are also undoubtedly other references not known to me in the thousands of Javanese MSS beyond the reach of my reading and modern search engines. But we will have enough examples to get some idea of what happened.
- 13 The first of the later references known to me occurs in *Babad Giyanti*, one of the finest Javanese chronicles and examples of *macapat* poetry. It was presumably written between c. 1757 (when the war it describes came to an end) and the 1803 death of the poet usually accepted as its author, Yasadipura I.⁹ It records a letter written c. January 1753 by the lord of Madura Cakraningrat V (r. 1745-1770) to the rebel king Mangkubumi (r. 1749-1792), then contemplating an attack on Surabaya. The letter aimed to cajole Mangkubumi into changing his intentions. It was written in the fashion of an admiring subject to a king, flattering the recipient. The letter said, *inter alia*, that the lords of Java all wished that Mangkubumi should “be made successful by Hyang Latawalujwa.” It goes on to pray also for his success as a defender of the *Qur'an*.¹⁰ The word *Hyang*, which precedes *Latawalujwa* here, is an appellation for a divine being or God. The important points to note are that (1) this reference is solidly within the Islamic tradition; (2) it would appear to be a reference to God, who might bless Mangkubumi with success; (3) clearly the meaning of Latawalujwa was expected to be understood by Mangkubumi and (4) it also made sense to the compiler of *Babad Giyanti*.

- 14 Yasadipura I is also credited with a text called *Menak Cina*. In the printed edition, we find a reference to a deity described as Kaki Andhol Hong Ti Te along with Hyang Latawalujwa. I lack the expertise to identify Hong Ti Te (elsewhere in the work written Hong Ting Te) but wonder whether this could refer to the Jade Emperor, a Daoist deity known (among other designations) as Huang Da Di. Nor is it entirely clear to me whether he and Hyang Latawalujwa are meant to be one and the same. There are also two other references to Hyang Latawalujwa in this work.¹¹ Whatever the uncertainty, it seems likely that here Latawalujwa is meant to be a Chinese deity.
- 15 The third reference known to me, in chronological order, is in a Romanised text entitled *Sĕrat Lokapala*. The version under discussion here¹² is dated Tuesday-Paing, 27 Jumadilawal, wuku Julungpujut, Jimawal wiku misik swara tunggil [AJ 1757] and AH 1245, equivalent to 24 November 1829. This is said to be by the poet Sindusastra.¹³ The text opens with Adam, who gave birth to the Prophet Sis, after which follow several generations of “begats” reaching to Pakubuwana IV of Surakarta (r. 1788-1820). In a later canto, the text tells of the supernatural figure Sang Hyang Tunggal who was “wandering about under the sea. Having become extremely weary, he slept upon a stone. There it was as if Sang Hyang Tunggal was picked up by Hyang Latawalujwa and dropped in the palace.”¹⁴ A few lines later, the poet toys with the idea that Latawalujwa consists of two elements, implicitly connected by the Arabic *waʿl*. He reverses the order of the two elements – still, however, apparently referring to a single being – as *Hyang Ujwalati*. *Lata* is *lati* here *metri causa*, for /i/ is required for the final vowel in the second line of a verse in Pangkur metre.
- 16 So in this *Lokapala* text dated 1829, we see Hyang Latawalujwa again as some sort of deity. Sindusastra appears to have suspected that the name was of Arabic origin and two elements, combined by the conjunction *waʿl*.
- 17 Our next example takes us to the man conventionally regarded as the last of Java’s great poets, Ronggawarsita (1802–73), descended from the Yasadipura line. He was the author of poetry that is still revered in Java, but also of the curious pseudo-historical works *Pustakaraja Purwa* (“The book of kings of ancient times”) and its prologue *Paramayoga* (“The exalted age”?) which covered the mythical past of Java, beginning with Adam and Indian gods and ending in the year 730. The contents present themselves as if they were the result of serious research but are in fact mainly (I would say wholly except that I’ve not read all of these works) made-up-as-you-go nonsense. Ronggawarsita was the target of considerable, and evidently distressing, public condemnation by some of his contemporaries.¹⁵ We don’t know for certain when these grand pseudo-historical books were written but there are grounds for thinking that it may have been in the 1850s. A hundred years after that, the formidable scholar Poerbatjaraka wrote that the sources that Ronggawarsita cited for *Paramayoga* had never existed, nor had the made-up dating system that Ronggawarsita employed. Poerbatjaraka’s condemnation of *Pustakaraja Purwa* was equally strong, dismissing it as “empty prattle” (*omong-kosong*).¹⁶
- 18 In *Paramayoga*, we see the most flamboyant of all attempts to make sense of the name Latawalujwa, as one would expect of Ronggawarsita. In the edition of the text edited by the 20th-century literary scholar Padmasusastra, we again find the name Latawalujwa broken into two bits. Now, however, they appear as the names of twin children of Adam, the 15th such in order by age, an incestuous pair named Sayid Lata and Siti Walngujya or just Ngujya. They were – Ronggawarsita tells us – among the children of

Adam who resisted the will of their father. Lata and Ngujya travelled to China. Then they were in Africa, where they practised asceticism by the Nile and taught one Sayid Anwar the mystical science of being watchful (*ilmu kawaspadan*).¹⁷

- 19 This typically idiosyncratic Ronggawarsita version of the mysterious name tells us two things of relevance. First, the twins Sayid Lata and Siti Walngujya are depicted within an Islamic framework, as is shown by their proposed descent from Adam and the title Sayid (Arabic *sayyid* for a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad). Second, the idiosyncrasy remained Ronggawarsita's alone; the further examples we will see below make no reference to these curious twins.
- 20 If we are correct to assume that *Paramayoga* was a work of the 1850s, then the next examples come from the Javanese newspaper *Bramartani* (during 1864–11 Aug. 1870 entitled *Jurumartani*). In 1868 our mysterious name Latawalujwa showed up twice there. This was in the context of a feisty exchange between two readers, one calling himself Pak Nugi or Kewus Nendar (also Kewun Nendar, in either case a rather strange name, probably a *nom de plume*) and a person who describes himself as a student of the government school in Surakarta, using his own pseudonym of Gunawan. The subject matter was words used in the Banyumas and Bagelen dialects of Javanese, not itself of interest to us here. In a letter published on 21 May 1868, Gunawan exclaimed “I ya Latawaluja!” In the issue of 18 June, Kewus Nendar replied that anyone who used that expression — which is printed in this case as “I la Yatawaluja” — must be a Hindu and not a Muslim like the Javanese.
- 21 Thus, it seems that, at least for this one correspondent in 1868, Latawaluja was a Hindu term and anyone who used it was not a Muslim. This 1868 exchange, and the *Menak Cina* reference above, suggest that Latawalujwa might appear in different religious contexts. But perhaps it was more the case that for literate Javanese — or at least for Pak Nugi alias Mas Kewus Nendar — the name was a mystery.¹⁸ If Gunawan replied to this charge, his response is lost in the issues of the newspaper which are missing from the Indonesian National Library collection.
- 22 Again in 1878 and in 1887, Latawalujwa appeared in *Bramartani*. In the issue of 14 March 1878, we find the name in a passage from a verse (*macapat*) story where it is unmistakably a reference to God: “Hyang Latawalujwa, who temporarily loans life and death to all the people of the world.” Because this is said to be a poetic (*macapat*) tale translated into Javanese from Chinese, however, it is reasonable to think that Latawalujwa here was once more a Chinese deity. The *Bramartani* issue of 28 July 1887 contains the start of a serialised version of the *Bayan Budiman* myth, which is located clearly in an Islamic context, where Latawalujwa is mentioned as the divinity who has made something forbidden (*karam*, Arabic *haram*).
- 23 This takes us to other later 19th-century examples, which we find in anti-Islamic books written in Kediri in the 1870s, *Babad Kēdhiri*, *Suluk Gatholoco* and *Sērat* (or *Suluk*) *Dērmagandhul*. These are closely related to each other and, as Drewes put it, they “breathe rejection of Islam as being a religion foreign to Java and the Javanese; moreover, a religion which had come to power as a result of the utterly reprehensible conduct of the *walis*.”¹⁹ This theme runs throughout all three books.²⁰
- 24 In the edition and translation of *Babad Kēdhiri* by Van den Broek, we find a discussion between Brawijaya, the last king of Hindu-Buddhist Majapahit, who has converted to Islam, and his supernatural companion Sēbdapalon Nayagenggong (who soon turns out

to be Sēmar, the most powerful of Java's god-clowns), who refuses to join the king in converting. He denies that Islam is the true faith and says,

Those who call that true are those who are of that religion themselves, who are devoted to it. But I call it not yet the truth and I am not yet devoted. I am devoted to the old religion, the *Buda* religion. The meaning of the *Buda* religion is the religion of *budi*. The meaning of *budi* is the being of Yang Latawaluja, who envelops my human body, who has the power to move the world. The duty of humans is to be faithful to their *budi*, which is true, bright and clear.²¹

- 25 Van den Broek adds a footnote to the Javanese textual reference to Latawaluja, in which he speculates that it is “probably the same description as *Hyang Jagadwasesa* [the divine governor of the world] = the name of the supreme god of the Buddhists in Java.” That is a large leap of imagination and not, alas, of much help in our discussion here. In the Dutch translation he misspells the name as “Jang Wâtâwal-oedjâ.” Over a decade ago, this was the first time I had encountered the name Latawaluja and in *Polarising Javanese Society* (p. 187) I could only add my own helpless footnote saying, “Presumably a term for God, but I know of no other source and see no obvious meaning in it.”
- 26 We find another reference in the closely related work *Sērat Dērmagandhul*. This is in the edition published c. 1920 in Yogyakarta by the publisher H. Buning – but not, I believe, in the parallel section of the 1921 edition brought out by Tan Khoen Swie in Kediri. In the Buning edition, Butalocaya, a clearly pre-Islamic figure found also in *Babad Kēdhiri*, where he is described as the king of all the spirits who lived in a cave, has a disputation with one of the original saints (*walis*) of Islam in Java, Sunan Bonang. The latter is thoroughly denounced in this source for his unprovoked destructiveness. Bonang says that he has attacked pre-Islamic statues in order to prevent people worshipping them in the heretical fashion of *kapirs* (infidels). Ki Butalocaya says, “Javanese people already know that stone statues have no power; it is different with Latawalujwa. Therefore he is honoured, given offerings and incense.”²²
- 27 A parallel passage is found in a MS said to be from the MSS collection of Gadjah Mada University and published by Darusuprta *et al.* Prior to that reference is another part of the Sunan Bonang tale, where he angrily alters the course of the River Brantas and thereby does great harm to ordinary folk. In this context, the text refers to “the teachings of Latawaluja, which originate from the word of god (*tuwan*).”²³
- 28 Ambiguity lurks in these references. Here we encounter the word-play of the later 19th-early 20th centuries between *Buda* (pre-Islamic religion) and *budi*. The latter term is difficult to translate, but in general can be taken as a very positive concept which had to do with intellect, elevated culture and character, and striving. The idea of an identity between *Buda* and *budi* was crucial among anti-Islamic Javanese of that era. It was a common idea among that group that modern, scientific European learning, represented most immediately by Dutch colonial educational initiatives, was *budi* and that was the key to the future. And because *Buda* and *budi* were really one, this was also the key to reviving a more authentically Javanese, pre-Islamic past.²⁴
- 29 Thus, in these anti-Islamic works of the later 19th century, Latawalujwa appears to be (a) an anti-Islamic deity and (b) possibly assimilated with ideas which associated pre-Islamic Javanese identity and authenticity (*Buda*) with modern European learning (*budi*). Yet in 1887, we saw Latawalujwa back in the Islamic context of the *Bayan Budiman* story in *Bramartani*.

30 This takes us to our final example, the dating of which is not entirely clear. The text is entitled *Menak Branta*. It is a mythical account of events in the Middle East. The opening claims that a daughter of the Yogyakarta Sultan Hamengkubuwana VI (r. 1855-77) named Ratu Sasi²⁵ ordered the writing of this story. But the text itself is dated in both Javanese and Western dating systems to 22 September 1936. So it seems that we have a story from the later 19th century, here presented in a copy or version of the 1930s. Latawaluja appears twice as a divine figure with the predicate *Hyang*.²⁶ Latawaluja's religious affiliation is unclear to me.

31 **Conclusions**

32 We are thus left with the impression that for several Javanese writers, Latawalujwa or Latawaluja was a term for the highest divinity, one that was rarely used but in most cases was located within an Islamic frame of reference. It was a name whose blessing one might invoke in a letter to a Javanese monarch, an about-to-become Sultan, wishing that he should "be made successful by Hyang Latawalujwa" and remain a defender of the *Qur'an*. In 1829, in his *Lokapala* text, Sindusastra depicted Hyang Latawalujwa again as some sort of deity and seems to have thought that the name was of Arabic (i.e. Islamic) origin. When Ronggawarsita produced his own extravagant reinterpretation of the term in his *Paramayoga*, he still placed those incestuous twins, the rebellious children of Adam named Sayid Lata and Siti Walngujya (or just Ngujya), within an Islamic framework.

33 Yasadipura I's *Menak Cina*, however, appears to have made Latawalujwa a Chinese deity. In the *Bramartani* exchange of 1868, too, it seems that our elusive spirit had become non-Islamic in the eyes of one correspondent. When we get to the anti-Islamic books of the 1870s, Latawaluja is either a clearly pre-Islamic spiritual force or, at least, probably such. But it may have been more complicated than that. For if, as *Babad Kēdhiri* has it, "the meaning of *budi* is the being of Yang Latawaluja," then Latawaluja would appear to have been assimilated — in the minds of the anti-Islamic authors of those Kediri texts — with *budi*, implying the liberating power of modern European knowledge. Nevertheless, in *Bramartani* of 1878, Latawalujwa is clearly the supreme deity who bestows life and death on humankind, but with no clear religious designation. In the newspaper edition in 1887, Latawalujwa is mentioned in the *Bayan Budiman* tale, which is situated unmistakably in Islamic mythical history. Our final example, from *Menak Branta*, is of ambiguous religious allegiance.

34 Latawalujwa's odyssey was thus a long and complicated one, taking the name far from the two pre-Islamic goddesses of the *Qur'an*. Later ignorance of the Quranic origin of the name made it possible for Javanese writers to employ Latawalujwa in multiple religious contexts. The only consistency among them was that this was clearly a term for divinity. Except, of course, for Ronggawarsita's flight of fancy in imagining two incestuous children of Adam.

35 Whatever individual Javanese writers or readers made of Latawalujwa in a work of literature or correspondence in a newspaper, in most of the cases consulted here they would have had no reason to think of al-Lat and al-'Uzza of the *Qur'an*. Those two pre-Islamic goddesses had been lost in translation, even in the 1905 Javanese-script *Qur'an* itself.

36 **Abbreviation**

37 BKI Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde

NOTES

2. M.A.S. Abdel Haleem (transl.), *The Qur'an: A new translation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 347-8. Regarding the “unjust distribution”, Abdel Haleem comments in a note to p. 347, “Because the pagan Arabs regarded daughters as a humiliation, the *Qur'an* argues with them according to their own logic that it was particularly illogical of them to attribute daughters to God.” I am grateful to Samer Akkach for directing me to the Quranic reference. He adds that al-Lat and al-'Uzza “are also mentioned in a well-known exchange between Talha and Abu Bakr, which ended in the conversion of the former to Islam”; Samer Akkach email 8 March 2019. The revelation concerning these idols was followed by the famous so-called “Satanic verses,” which generated profound controversy in Islam. See Shahab Ahmed, “Satanic Verses,” in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān* (ed. Jane Dammen McAuliffe), accessed online at http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1875-3922_q3_EQSIM_00372.
3. J. Noorduyn, “The three palm-leaf MSS from Java in the Bodleian Library and their donors,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Northern Ireland* 1985, no. 1, pp. 68–64.
4. M. C. Ricklefs, “Bantĕn and the Dutch in 1619: Six early ‘pasar Malay’ letters,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. 39, pt. 1 (1976), pp. 128–136.
5. Bodleian MS Jav.b.2(R), f. 116v. I am most grateful to Ben Arps for sharing this research with me.
6. There are other fragments of the *Qur'an* in Javanese script. The first *sura*, the *Fatiha*, is often found. Such MSS are described in Theodore G. Th. Pigeaud, *Literature of Java: Catalogue raisonné of Javanese manuscripts in the library of the University of Leiden and other public collections in the Netherlands* (4 vols; The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff; Leiden: Bibliotheca Universitatis Lugduni Batavorum; Leiden: Leiden University Press, 1967-80), vol. ii, p. 439 (LOR 7465); Nancy K. Florida, *Javanese literature in Surakarta manuscripts* (3 vols. Ithaca, NY: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1993-2012), vol. i, p. 264 (KS 481.22-23); and vol. ii, p. 191 (MN 300, possibly by Ronggawarsita); T.E. Behrend (ed.), *Katalog Induk Naskah-Naskah Nusantara*, vol. 1: *Museum Sonobudoyo Yogyakarta* (Jakarta: Penerbit Djambatan, 1990), pp. 549 (116-17) and 563 (145).
7. *Kur'an Jawi*, translated by Bagus Ngarpah, an *abdi-dalem ngulama* (a court official who was an Islamic scholar) with editorial assistance of Ngabei Wirapustaka, copied by Ranasubaya, dated in Surakarta, [CE] 1905; 3 vols.; Radya Pustaka MSS 340, 341, 342; vol. 3, p. 1305. See Florida, *Javanese Literature in Surakarta Manuscripts*, vol. iii, p. 248. I am most grateful to Oman Fathurahman for bringing the MS to my attention and to his colleague Adi Deswijaya for providing a photograph of the relevant page. The text is transcribed by Adi Deswijaya at <https://www.sastra.org/agama-dan-kepercayaan/kita-suci/870-kuran-jawi-bagus-ngarpah-1905-1885-bagian-27>.
8. Ricci, Ronit, “From Jewish disciple to Muslim guru: On literary and religious transformations in late nineteenth century Java”; pp. 68-85 in R. Michael Feener and Terenjit Sevea (eds), *Islamic Connections: Muslim societies in South and Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2009).
9. There is some confusion about the date of Yasadipura's death; I have suggested that the correct date must be Monday-Kliwon, 20 Dulkangidah, Wawu 1729, equivalent to 14 March 1803; see my article “The Yasadipura problem,” *BKI* vol. 153, no. 2 (1997), p. 275.
10. Yasadipura I [ascribed to], *Babad Giyanti* (21 vols; Batawi Sentrum, 1937-9), vol. xiii, p. 58. Just after this, on *ibid.*, pp. 59-60, is found the date Mulud, Je [1678], equivalent to the period 6 January-4 February 1753.

11. Yasadipura I, *Menak Cina* (5 vols; Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Proyek Penerbitan Buku Sastra Indonesia dan Daerah, 1982), pp. 34, 37, 110. The reference to Hong Ting Te is found on p. 126.
12. Purwadi, *Pakeliran padat: Lakon Babad Lokapala* (Yogyakarta: Pendidikan Bahasa Daerah, Fakultas Bahasa dan Seni, Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta, October 2010), pp. 6-9. Also at file:///F:/Lakon%20babad%20lokapala.pdf.
13. See Poerbatjaraka, *Kapustakan Djawi* (Djakarta/Amsterdam: Penerbit Djambatan, 1952), pp. 149-50, who describes Sindusastra as a contemporary of Yasadipura I and II and scribe to the prince who became the Surakarta Susuhunan Pakubuwana VII (r. 1830-58)
14. Purwadi, *Pakeliran padat*, p. 8.
15. M. C. Ricklefs, "The perils of hybridity in 19th-century Java: Ronggowarsita's reputation, animated debates in *Bramartani*, and the probable origins of Javanese acrostics; with a postscript on Purwalēlana," *Archipel* no. 96 (2018), pp. 103-27; Nancy Florida, "Living in a time of madness: The last days of Java's last prophetic poet," forthcoming in *History and Theory*.
16. Poerbatjaraka, *Kapustakan Djawi*, pp. 151-4, 157.
17. Ronggowarsita. *Sērat Paramayoga: Anyariosakēn lalampahanipun Kangjēng Nabi Adam akaliyan lalampahan sarta tērah-tumērahipun para dewa ingkang akahyangan ing tanah Hindhustan; Anggitanipun Raden Ngabei Ronggowarsita, Pujangga Agēng ing Karaton Nagari Surakarta* (ed. Ki Padmasusastra; 6th printing; Yogyakarta: Kolēf Buning [Kolff-Buning], 1934), pp. 9,11, 21.
18. I am grateful to Dr Achmad Sunjayadi of the Department of History, University of Indonesia, for scanning the original issues of *Bramartani/Jurumartani* in the Indonesian National Library so that I could check the orthography of these references. Transcriptions of *Bramartani* – which are not free of errors – may be found at <http://lampje.leidenuniv.nl/KITLV-docs/open/TS/Bramartani/bramartani.html>. In this exchange there are also references to the 1866-1867 controversy about Ronggowarsita that is the subject of my previous article "Perils of hybridity."
19. G.W.J. Drewes, "The struggle between Javanism and Islam as illustrated by the *Sērat Dērmagandhul*," *BKI* vol. 122 (1966), no. 3, p. 310.
20. These books are discussed in M. C. Ricklefs, *Polarising Javanese society: Islamic and other visions c. 1830-1930* (Singapore: Singapore University Press; Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press; Leiden: KITLV Press, 2007), chapter 7.
21. P.W. van den Broek (ed. & transl.), *De geschiedenis van het rijk Kēdiri, opgeteekend in het jaar 1873 door Mas Soemā-Sēntikā, gepensioneerd Wēdānā van het district Lèngkong* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1902), text p. 133, transl. pp. 108-109.
22. Consulted via the transcription at <https://www.sastra.org/agama-dan-kepercayaan/kebatinan-dan-mistik/1266-darmagandhul-h-buning-c-1920-437-pupuh-01-06>.
23. Darusuprpta *et al.* (ed. and transl.), *Ajaran moral dalam susastra suluk* (Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1990), pp. 75, 78. Also available at <http://repositori.kemdikbud.go.id/1374/1/Ajaran%20Moral%20Susastra%20Suluk%20%281990%29.pdf>.
24. See Ricklefs, *Polarising Javanese society*, particularly chapter 7.
25. She is listed among the sixth Sultan's children in K.R.T Mandoyokusumo, *Serat Raja Putra Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat* (3rd printing; [Yogyakarta:] Bebadan Museum Keraton Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat, 1976), p. 49, as the 15th child of the Sultan.
26. *Menak Branta* (translit. Adi Triyono and Tukidjo; Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Proyek Penerbitan Buku Sastra, [1985]), pp. 76, 257.

ABSTRACTS

In the early history of Islam, pre-Islamic female goddesses named Al-Lat and al-'Uzza were regarded as particular threats to the new faith. They appeared in one of the oldest surviving Modern Javanese manuscripts, a *Caritanira Amir* written no later than 1629, as *Lata wa-l-'Uzza*, their names being joined by the Arabic conjunction *wa*. This appears to be the key to later Javanese misunderstanding of these two names as a single one: Latawalujwa (or close variants thereof). This misunderstanding is even to be found in a Javanese translation of the *Qur'an* in Javanese (rather than Arabic) script, which refers to a singular "idol named Latawalnguza." From the 18th to the early 20th centuries we find several Javanese examples of this singular name being used for a divinity, sometimes for God himself, sometimes for other sorts of divinities. The origin of this name in the two pre-Islamic idols seems to have been entirely forgotten.

À l'aube de l'Islam, les divinités païennes al-Lat et al-'Uzza de la période préislamique étaient considérées comme une menace pour la nouvelle religion. Elles apparaissent dans l'un des plus anciens manuscrits javanais modernes existants, *Caritanira Amir*, composé vers 1629, sous la forme *Lata wa-l-'Uzza*, leurs noms reliés par la conjonction arabe *-wa-* (« et »). Cela semble être la cause de la confusion ultérieure de ces deux noms pour un seul : Latawalujwa (ou de proches variantes). Cette méprise se trouve même dans une traduction du Coran en écriture javanaise (et non arabe), qui fait référence à une curieuse « idole nommée Latawalnguza ». Du XVIII^e jusqu'au début du XX^e siècle, on trouve plusieurs exemples javanais de ce nom singulier pour indiquer une divinité unique, parfois Dieu lui-même, ou d'autres sortes de divinités. L'origine de ce nom semble avoir été totalement oubliée.

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